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clearer, but it is also seen how little force, on the whole, the argument against the authenticity of the verses has, which is based on the idea that the writer falls in these verses from the great world-wide standpoint of the prophetic call to the mere threatening of Judah (Duhm). It is true that only Judah is threatened, but the destruction is placed in the midst of a gigantic world-wide movement, all tribes of the kingdoms of the north being summoned to take active part in the tragedy.

In this vision we are first told explicitly what the contents of his message shall be. Well may Jeremiah's heart be filled with fear; he knows that he will make many enemies. But Yahweh encourages him. Whether the encouragement given in vss. 17-19 belongs to the original elements of the vision, or whether it is not rather the outcome of his long, bitter experiences, is the question. That it belongs to the composition dictated by Jeremiah in 604 can hardly be doubted. A certain element of this comfort may have been granted to him at the time when he had the vision. But could he at that time already anticipate the enmity and persecution of the kings of Judah, when we know that King Josiah could hardly have fought against him? He may have anticipated opposition, and encouragement may have consequently been granted him, but the verses here are tinged with his later experience, especially with that under King Jehoiakim.

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

THE EASTERN CREEDS AND THE OLD ROMAN SYMBOL.

THE problem under consideration is the relation of the various forms of the baptismal symbol in use in the eastern churches to that used in the Roman church in the middle of the fourth century. To proceed in a logical fashion, we must first consider our sources of information; secondly, the dates and mutual relations of those sources; and finally we may endeavor to ascertain the relation between the Roman symbol (hereafter to be designated as R) and the eastern creeds, together with such indications as we shall be able to gather of the route or routes of communication, if such existed.

SOURCES FOR THE INVESTIGATION.

The primary sources for our study are the documents printed in Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche*, 3d ed. (Breslau, 1897), Nos. 123-45, together with Nos. 153-6. A few

notes on these must precede further investigation. For convenience they are here noticed in the order of Hahn's text:

123. "Eusebius Pamphili of Cæsarea." (Cf. No. 188.) Written before 325. Probably gives the substance of the creed in use in Cæsarea, but is hardly an authority for its verbiage. No argument can be drawn from the omission of any part, as only those matters in question at the council of Nice are touched on.

124. The "Creed of Jerusalem" as excerpted from a catechetical discourse of Cyril, the archbishop. Before 350.

125. "Epiphanius" (1). Creed of Jerusalem before 374. (Hort, Kattenbusch.) See Kattenbusch, *Das apostol. Symbol*, 2 Bde., Leipzig, 1894 and 1900 (Katt.), Vol. I, p. 288.

126. "Epiphanius" (2); *anno* 374. The composition of Epiphanius himself, based on the Nicene creed, designed to meet the heresies and controversies of the ten years before 374. It is the original source of Nos. 127 and 137. (Katt., I, 288.)

127. "Pseudo-Athanasian;" end of fourth century. This is a somewhat condensed form of Epiphanius (2). (Katt., I, 360.)

128. "Liturgia Jacobi;" late fourth or early fifth century; an unimportant fragment.

129. "Apostolic Constitutions" (l. vii, chap. 41); middle of fourth century (Harnack). Probably based on the "Symbol" of Lucian the Martyr (died 312) (Katt.). But cf. Katt., II, 198, where he disputes this early date as against his own conclusions in his first volume.

130a and 130b. The "Creed of Antioch;" about 365. (Hort, Katt.) The creed exists in fragments only, partly in Latin and partly in Greek, and is defective toward the end, but its closing phrases can be conjectured from Nos. 131, 132.

131. "Creed of Laodicea Syriae" (?). Taken from the *κατὰ μέρος πιστις* of Apollinarius (Hahn, No. 204), of the fourth century. Closely dependent on the Antiochenum, and later in date.

132. "Creed of the Nestorians;" before 381; derived from the Antiochenum, and is probably from a Syrian source.

133. "Symbol of Marcus Eremita." Not of Ancyra in Galatia, as maintained by some, but of some place in Syria (Harnack, Katt., Seeberg, and others); between 430 and 440.

134. "Creed of Auxentius Mediolanensis;" probably represents the creed of Cappadocia; written 364; partly derived from the synod of Sirmium (351).

135. "The Decalogue of Gregorius Nazianzen;" written in 381; derived from the Nicene creed (Katt.); valuable only in parts.

136. "Armenian;" late; can be neglected in this discussion.

137. "Armenian;" translated back into Greek. Hort's text (cf. *Two*

Dissertations, etc.) is given in Katt. I, 303, and is much better than that printed by Hahn. Derived from Epiphanius (2) through the Pseudo-Athanasian creed, and so later than 374.

138. "Armenian;" of doubtful origin, text, and date. Not before the second half of the fifth century.

139. "Koptic Creed;" of uncertain date; "very old" (Katt.); perhaps derived from Rome through the "Canones Hippolyti."

140. "Koptic;" of uncertain date, but "old."

141. "Ethiopic;" of uncertain date, but "old."

142. "The Nicene Creed;" of the year 325; derived from Eusebius of Cæsarea, with certain additions made with a view to greater clearness of statement. *Not* a baptismal symbol, although its successor, "C," was.

144. "The Constantinopolitanum;" "C;" about 381; agrees almost exactly with Epiphanius (1), and derived in all probability from it. It is *not* a worked-over version of N.

151 ff. "Synodal Creeds." These were almost all created for special occasions and can generally be referred either to an already known form or to the fourth Antiochian formula (No. 153, *anno* 341). The numerous variants render the task of constructing an original form practically impossible. (Katt. I, 261.)

OTHER SOURCES.

In the works of no early eastern Father aside from those printed in Hahn and listed above, except possibly Clement of Alexandria and Origen, is there a trace of a formula or creed which can be definitely set forth. Kattenbusch regards it as probable that Clement had a creed which was very similar to the first Koptic form (Katt., II, pp. 102 ff.). I cannot regard this as proved by his arguments. Kattenbusch further believes that Origen knew R, but he cannot prove that he either himself accepted it or testifies to its use in Egypt or elsewhere. It seems proved by the same author that Charisius does not give the creed of Philadelphia (Vol. I, 361).

The sources fall into the following chronological order. Exact date or sequence cannot be asserted in all cases:

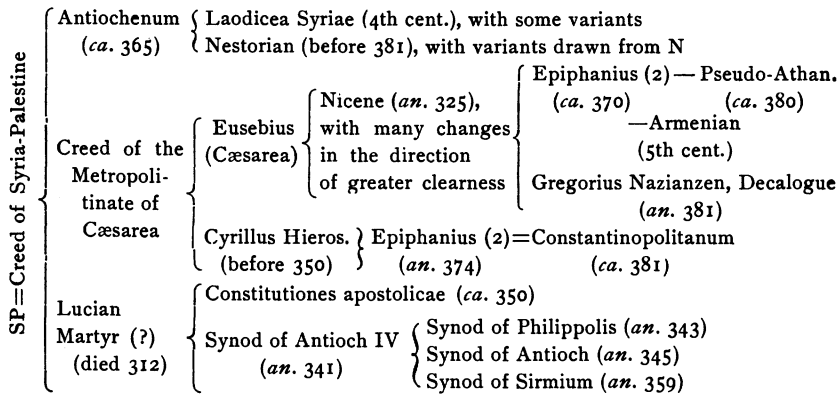
1. Eusebius (Cæsarea), before 325.
2. Nicene (council of Nicæa), 325.
3. Cyril of Jerusalem, before 350.
4. Auxentius of Milan (Cappadocia ?), before 351.
5. Koptic creeds (1, 2, and 3), before 325, early fourth century (?).
6. "Constitutiones apostolicæ," about 350.
7. Antiochenum (Syria), about 365.
8. Laodicea (Syria), fourth century.
9. Epiphanius (1) (Jerusalem), about 370.

10. Epiphanius (2) (Jerusalem), 374.
11. Pseudo-Athanasius, end of fourth century.
12. "Constantinopolitanum," late fourth century.
13. Nestorian (Syria), before 381 (?).
14. Gregorius Nazianzenus, 381.
15. Armenian, early fifth century.
16. Marcus Eremita (Syria), between 430 and 440.

It will be seen by a glance at the foregoing table that no one of these eastern creeds can be pushed back in date so far as is agreed by all scholars that R must be placed. Most of these dates above are contemporary with the R of Marcellus and Rufinus. This fact should be borne in mind when we come to discuss the relations of these creeds to R.

The extensive and detailed study and discussion of each of the documents just enumerated which can be found in the pages of Kattenbusch and other writers, and such a comparison of the texts as I have made, lead to the conclusion, not that we have sixteen or more independent witnesses to the baptismal formula of the East, but, on the contrary, that we can prove several of the forms to be directly related to certain others. We find, for example, that the Nicene creed is derived directly from that of Cæsarea as reported by Eusebius; that the second formula of Epiphanius is derived from the Nicene creed, with additions; that the Pseudo-Athanasian creed is a compression of Epiphanius (2), and that from this shortened form the Armenian creed comes almost directly. Moreover, the creed to which the decalogue of Gregory Nazianzen is a witness must be an expansion of the Nicene. These relations are seen from a very careful and minute study of the documents, and may be regarded as certain. Therefore, in order to get at the original creed of Cæsarea, we must take Eusebius's formula, supplementing it from the later sources in the latter portion where it is defective. The creeds derived from earlier ones can be neglected except when they supplement deficiencies in their archetype or contain readings which support forms found in other families. The process is exactly identical with that of textual criticism, and must be governed by its rules and canons.

We derive, therefore, the following formula from a comparison of the different documents and a study of their chronology:



It will be plain from the foregoing diagram that there are three clearly marked "families" among our witnesses to a creed in Syria and Palestine: (1) that of Antioch; (2) that of Cæsarea, including Jerusalem; and (3) that of Lucian Martyr. In addition, there are a few eastern symbols which do not fall under any of these three; those in Egypt must be treated separately; there remain Auxentius and Marcus Eremita. The last is too late to be considered seriously. Auxentius does not appear to be a witness for the baptismal symbol of a particular church—although it has been claimed, with some appearance of correctness, that he represents the creed of some Cappadocian church—but rather seems to give a confession of individual belief. If the elimination of these two from the discussion be accepted—the other witnesses to an Asiatic creed, Charisius and the presbyter of Ephesus (controversy with Noetius), are too indefinite to be of service—we are left with the creeds of Syria-Palestine and of Egypt.

We shall first endeavor to ascertain the creed of the churches of Syria and Palestine (SP) about the year 300. The method to be followed is to ascertain by careful comparison the probable creeds of Antioch, of Cæsarea, and of Lucian Martyr. It is necessary to take issue squarely on this point with Kattenbusch. His principle that only those symbols known to be those of a particular *church* are to be considered cannot be accepted, nor, indeed, does he himself make use of this canon before the eighth chapter of his first volume, neither does he hold strictly to it there. Documents proving the existence of a creed must be considered in this study, whether, as in Cyril of Jerusalem, they give with certainty the creed of a particular city, or, as in Apollinarius, they give a creed whose origin and provenience is somewhat doubtful.

Certain cautions must be observed in applying this method. Mathematical exactness and a certain appearance of cleverness must not be our end; nor should it be forgotten that we are particularly liable to meet with obstacles to the easy working out of this problem. In the first place, the state of the text of the various documents cannot be regarded as ideal, or even as thoroughly satisfactory for a working basis. In no other form of literature are the words present in the memory of the scribe so likely to have been set down in the manuscript instead of those he was supposed to copy, as in creeds, hymns, and liturgic passages. Again, direct and intentional introduction of passages from other creeds by way of addition (contamination), or the substitution of other turns of expression from other documents for those in the text (conflation), are more to be feared in such passages than in any others.

When we attempt the restoration of the creed of Antioch, about 350, we have to consider (1) the Antiochenum as shown by the Greek fragments and the Latin version of Johannes Cassianus, and (2) where this is defective we must make use of the evidence afforded by the creeds of Laodicea Syriae and the Nestorians. It should be said in addition that a truly scientific process would be to add to these a discussion in detail of the evidence afforded for the text of A by the two last-named creeds. Time and space do not permit this here, although the results given are based upon such a study as well as the comparison of the primary sources. The creed resulting from this process is, in all probability, the one in use in Antioch early in the fourth century.

The Creed of Antioch.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα καὶ μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα κτίστην (δημιουργὸν ?) πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων,

καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ, δι' οὗ καὶ οἱ αἰῶνες κατηρτίσθησαν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα, καὶ ἀναβάντα (ἀνελθόντα) εἰς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ πάλιν ἐλευσόμενον (ἔξοντα) (? pres.) κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,

καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον,

καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν,

καὶ εἰς ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν,

καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

The creeds of Cæsarea and Jerusalem present a more difficult

problem. Eusebius is defective, and possibly diffuse also. We must take the various subordinate forms shown on the previous diagram, and construct as best we can the creed of Cæsarea. It is a fact that at the period referred to, 325-50, Jerusalem was subject in ecclesiastical matters to Cæsarea, and therefore we may confidently expect to find a common baptismal symbol in use in both churches. The text of the creed of Cyril (first carefully compared with its subordinates) must then be compared with that of Cæsarea as represented by Eusebius. This should give us the baptismal symbol of the metropolitane of Cæsarea before 325.

Creed of Cæsarea-Jerusalem.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν,

καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα, σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἀνθρωπήσαντα, καὶ σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ ἐρχόμενον [ῥῥίζοντα] κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,

καὶ εἰς ἕν ἁγίον πνεῦμα, κ. τ. ε. (Epiph. 13 clauses),

καὶ εἰς μίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν (order uncertain),

καὶ εἰς ἕν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,

καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν,

καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

There is less firm ground for the next step. The seventh book of the "Apostolic Constitutions" and the fourth creed of the synod of Antioch held in 341 present so many points in common that they are referred to one source. There seems very good reason to believe that this source was the work of Lucian Martyr, who was put to death in 312 under Maxentius. The creed resulting from a comparison of these two is then to be called that of Lucian Martyr.

Creed of (?) Lucian Martyr.

Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεὸν παντοκράτορα, κτίστην (καὶ δημιουργὸν ?) τῶν ἀπάντων, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα,

καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱόν, τὸν πρὸ [πάντων ?] τῶν αἰώνων τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, ὁρατὰ τε καὶ ἀόρατα, τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν [κατελθόντα ἐξ οὐρανῶν] καὶ σάρκα ἀναλαβόντα, ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου Μαρίας γεννηθέντα, καὶ σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ἀποθανόντα, [καὶ ταφέντα ?], καὶ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ

καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος κρίναι
ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος,

καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, κ. τ. ε. (4 clauses) (τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐν) τῇ
ἀγίᾳ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,

καὶ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (variation in order),

εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν,

καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

A careful and detailed comparison of these three creeds results in the following form. It would be too lengthy a process to go here over all the steps which have led to the production of this creed, which I believe to be substantially that in use in the churches of Syria-Palestine about the year 300. I am not certain as to its exact wording, for that is impossible to determine with absolute accuracy in all points, but as to its substance I think there can be little doubt.

Creed of Syria-Palestine, about 300 A. D.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀορά-
των κτίστην [ποιητὴν],

καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ἁγνόν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ¹, τὸν
πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὸν
σαρκωθέντα, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Πον-
τίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς
οὐρανοὺς, καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,

καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, κ. τ. ε.,

εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν,

εἰς ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν,

εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν,

καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

We come now to a comparison of SP and R. If placed side by side, underscoring variants, we have the following :

R. ²	SP.
Πιστεύω εἰς θεόν	Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεόν
πατέρα παντοκράτορα,	πατέρα παντοκράτορα
	<u>ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ</u>
	<u>ἀοράτων κτίστην,</u>

¹ ἁ γ = order uncertain.

² Cf. MCGIFFERT, *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 42.

R.

καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν
 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν
 μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν,
 τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ
πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ
Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν
ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, τῇ
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ
νεκρῶν, ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς
οὐρανοὺς, καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ
τοῦ πατρὸς, ὃθεν ἔρχεται
 κρίναι τοὺς ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,
 καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον,
 ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν,
 ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,
 σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν.

SP.

καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν
 Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν
 μονογενῆ, τὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν
 αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα,
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὸν
σαρκωθέντα, καὶ γεννηθέντα
ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ
σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου,
καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,
ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς,
ἐρχόμενον
 κρίναι τοὺς ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,
 καὶ εἰς ἐν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, κ. τ. ε.
εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ
ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν,
εἰς ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν,
εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν
καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Two facts confront us immediately on a cursory glance at the comparison of SP and R: (1) SP is much larger than R, although it omits but two phrases of importance found in R, *i. e.*, the words ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου in connection with the birth of Christ, and ἐκ νεκρῶν with ἀνάστασιν; (2) the additions have in nearly every instance some doctrinal, especially an anti-heretical, animus. Taking up the comparison more in detail, we may perhaps first notice the difference in structure. To borrow the language of syntax, SP is paratactic, while R is more generally hypotactic. The constant repetition of *καί* in SP destroys all literary merit in the document.

How shall the additions to the form of R be treated? Are they earlier than R, and is R therefore a compression of an original longer form; or are they additions made with a definite purpose to a common original creed? The *ἐνα θεόν* (perhaps also *ἐνα κύριον*, but not very probably), *ἐν πν. ἁγ.*, seem to point to a controversy, of which

the *unum* or *unicum deum* of Tertullian may be an echo. 'Ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων also finds its echo in the later Western form *in coeli et terrae conditorem*, but seems to point to a definite dogmatic purpose. The additions to the first part of the christological article, especially τὸν σαρκωθέντα, seem so likely to be additions of a later period, which have crept into earlier texts, that Kattenbusch rejects them utterly before beginning his comparison for finding SP.

The omission of ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου seems very baffling. I cannot account for this omission, if we admit that it was in the original form of R, on any theory that R is the direct ancestor of SP. Some of the creeds of a later and subordinate character—the Constantinopolitanum, Epiphanius (1) (2), Nestorian, Auxentius, Armenian—give it, but its absence from Eusebius, the Nicene, Cyril, Laodicea Syr., and Antioch seems decisive proof that its presence in the later creeds cannot lead us to place it in SP. It is to be remembered that the presence of this phrase in earlier forms of R rests on scant testimony.

The variations in order and in words having practically the same meaning, such as ἀνελθόντα [R ἀναβάντα], etc., are unimportant.

The additions to the clauses concerning the Holy Spirit are so numerous and so various that it seems impossible to arrive at any form which could honestly be given a place in SP. We can only say that there *were* additions even in our earliest form.

In closing the discussion of SP and R we may conclude that R is a shorter, more compact, and more finished document than SP. The additions are so purely dogmatic in character that they must have had their origin in controversies other than those which produced R. There seems to me little doubt that the R which underlies the Marcellus-Rufinus form contemporary with most of the documents on which SP is based is the original *Symbolum apostolicum*.

It will be well also to consider the relation of the three creeds, R (365–410), SP (*ca.* 300), and the early R formed by a comparison of the symbol given in Irenæus and Tertullian with the later R.³ There

³ This text is printed here by the courtesy of Professor A. C. McGiffert, of Union Theological Seminary. Cf. also his *Apostles' Creed*, pp. 84–100.

Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα,
καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ [[τὸν μονογενῆ]] [τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν], τὸν
γεννηθέντα ἐκ [[πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ]] Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου
σταυρωθέντα [καὶ ταφέντα], τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς
οὐρανοὺς, καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὃθεν ἔρχεται κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,
καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον,
[ἅγιαν] ἐκκλησίαν, [[ἁφесιν ἁμαρτιῶν]],
σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν.

can be no doubt that (1) this early form is entirely contained in the later forms SP and R, with the exception of the clause *ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου* in connection with the virgin birth of Christ. Now, precisely this clause has been put in double brackets in constructing the early R, on the ground of its absence from Irenæus and Tertullian. This fact should lead us to eliminate the clause from this early form of R, in my opinion. (2) The other forms bracketed in the early R are all found in SP, at least sixty-five years earlier than our documents for R. (3) The additions to this early form noticed in R, and much more in evidence in SP, are not the same in both creeds. In R the additions are few, and each one of them is a vigorous, compact phrase. The additions made in Syria took a different turn, substituting exactness of expression and comprehensiveness of definition for the more laconic forms added to make the R of Marcellus and Rufinus. The traces of controversies of a different nature and of philosophical speculation of a character foreign to the western mind are to be seen in these additions, a fact which will impress the student more emphatically on consulting the documents from which SP has been derived.

There seems little reason to connect the early form of R with the East. Tertullian expressly connects it with Rome. We have, therefore, a starting-point which is western, a western development—R, and an eastern development—SP. Can the steps by which this creed came into use in Syria be traced? The most alluring conjecture is that elaborated by Kattenbusch (Vol. II, pp. 201 ff.), although previously suggested by others, to the effect that the removal of Paul of Samosata from the episcopate of Antioch in 272, and the elevation by Aurelian of Domnus, an adherent of the Roman bishop, was the occasion for the introduction of the Roman symbol into the East. But, if not previously known and used in the East, are forty or fifty years a sufficient time to secure its adoption in Antioch, Cæsarea, Jerusalem, and other places in Syria? A baptismal symbol is not a document to be lightly adopted or easily changed. The solution offered seems entirely too clever and easy to be accepted without reserve. If we could prove the use and knowledge of a creed of this sort by Clement of Alexandria, derived probably from Hippolytus, we should have a more natural mode of transportation. But this particular progression cannot be proven.

The whole matter of the relation of the Egyptian symbols to those of Rome and the East still awaits a searching investigation.

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